

# A Divided Hungary in Europe



A Divided Hungary in Europe:  
Exchanges, Networks and Representations,  
1541-1699

Edited by

Gábor Almási, Szymon Brzeziński, Ildikó Horn,  
Kees Teshelszky and Áron Zarnóczy

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**P U B L I S H I N G**



Volume 2

Diplomacy, Information Flow  
and Cultural Exchange

Edited by

Szymon Brzeziński and Áron Zarnóczy

A Divided Hungary in Europe:  
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AN ITALIAN INFORMATION AGENT  
IN THE HUNGARIAN THEATRE OF WAR:  
LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI  
BETWEEN VIENNA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

MÓNIKA F. MOLNÁR

In researching the life and works<sup>1</sup> of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (Bologna, 1658–Bologna, 1730), focus can be placed on several aspects depending on the interests of the given researcher. The Count of Bologna was a soldier<sup>2</sup> (he dubbed himself: *miles sum*), a talented military engineer, a diplomat<sup>3</sup> and a scientist *miles eruditus*—geographer, cartographer, researcher of the Danube and the sea, astronomer, etc.—and thus a typical example of the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century intellectual, who, following the dissolution of the divine order, tried to recreate a broken world. Based on empirical philosophy, which places scientific methodology at the fore, Marsigli's research relied on his own findings and experiences, using the highest technical standards of his time. This study, beyond his personal role, will focus primarily on those centres, processes and phenomena, presented with the integration of new perspectives and resources, which have thus far fallen outside the main line of research, or have only been investigated recently. More specifically, it will look at his activity in collecting information, since Count Marsigli collected more than just objects, manu-

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<sup>1</sup> The present study was prepared with the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Bolyai János research scholarship and the OTKA PD tender, no. 105020.

<sup>2</sup> To this day, he is remembered mostly for his military achievements; a good example of this is a recent volume of 16 studies published in Bologna, the greater part of which are devoted to military history: *La scienza delle Armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli 1658–1730*, ed. by Museo di P. Poggi (Bologna 2012).

<sup>3</sup> The writer of the largest monograph on Marsigli deemed him unsuitable for diplomatic work based on contemporary sources, who called him “vehement, impatient and unsubtle,” i.e., “he was better as a soldier and commander”: J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680–1730: The Life And Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier And Virtuoso* (New Haven 1994), 29.

scripts, codices, maps, original documents and Roman Era remains. Marsigli, as an “intelligence agent,” not only gathered information from all quarters but, through knowledge acquired from his travels and activity as a networker (intelligence capital), fared like a true entrepreneur on the contemporary European political scene.

At an international conference in Bologna in 2009,<sup>4</sup> it was declared—some would say unpardonably destroying the legend—that the activities of the graphoman Italian count should be placed in a different light: several scholars suggested that the collector and disseminator of information was a spy,<sup>5</sup> or, if one prefers, a passionate intelligence agent, information collector, systematiser and transmitter. It is at any rate true that Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli had an extensive network of contacts not only in Italy, where he undertook intelligence services for the Venetian Republic and the Papal State (to this day not adequately uncovered), but also at the Viennese court, where he had been in the service of Leopold I (1640–1705) from 1682, carrying out important diplomatic missions besides his military tasks. Later he was involved in the international scientific scene, an active member of the republic of letters and a remarkably international figure even by today’s standards. His contacts were widespread not only in the scientific world but also in the diplomatic, where, as we shall see, through his experiences of Habsburg–Ottoman diplomacy, he played an important role in the European transfer of culture.

Our fundamental source for the study of Marsigli’s life and activities was his own detailed autobiography.<sup>6</sup> Marsigli, who loudly advocated his principle of *Nihil mihi*, that is, “nothing for me,” crafted his message carefully, ensuring that posterity retained an image of his role in politics, the significance of his person and the justification of his actions. This became particularly important to him after 1703 when he was disgraced due to his surrender of Castle Breisach on the Rhine and was forced to leave the

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<sup>4</sup> *La politica, la scienza, le armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e la costruzione della frontiera dell’Impero e dell’Europa*, ed. by R. Gherardi (Bologna 2010).

<sup>5</sup> In fact, this opinion had appeared earlier, cf. S. Bene, “Acta Pacis—béke a muzulmánokkal. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili terve a karlócai béke iratainak kiadására,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 119, no. 2 (2006), 332, in Eng.: “Acta Pacis – Peace with the Muslims: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli’s Plan for the Publication of the Documents of the Karlowitz Peace Treaty,” *Camoenae Hungaricae* 3 (2006), 113–146.

<sup>6</sup> L. F. Marsigli, *Autobiografia di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli messa in luce nel secondo centenario della morte di lui dal Comitato Marsiliano*, ed. by E. Lovarini (Bologna 1930).

Habsburg's service.<sup>7</sup> Further important sources are his personal manuscripts, correspondence and documentation of his activities, which are retained mainly in Bologna<sup>8</sup> and partly in Vienna.

We will now go through the locations and information centres that Count Marsigli visited and where he carried out his intelligence and networking activities, in order that we may, hopefully, get a closer look at the contemporary information network and methods of gathering, writing, transmitting and selling news, or at least, a particular segment of it.

### *Italy*

Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli came from a large though not particularly wealthy aristocratic family and, like many of his Italian contemporaries, he had several career opportunities before him: in the service of his city, the Papal State (since his birthplace, Bologna, belonged to it), or some other great Italian lord. Furthermore, he had the option of a career in the church, in science, as well as the one Marsigli settled on, the chosen profession of several of his contemporaries and compatriots, foreign service, chiefly Habsburg military service.<sup>9</sup>

Marsigli came across the Ottoman question in his youthful travels across Italy—he claimed that the famed invincibility of the Ottomans had fascinated him since early childhood<sup>10</sup>—where he met all kinds of people who had some sort of connection to the Ottomans. On a journey from Rome to Naples, he met an English merchant who spent the greater por-

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<sup>7</sup> A. Gardi, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli: come si organizza la propria memoria storica," in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 237–264; for the events at Breisach see Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 216–252; M. Bussolari, *Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e i documenti sulla questione di Brisacco* (thesis, University of Bologna, 1985–1986).

<sup>8</sup> His manuscripts amount to 146 volumes (currently housed in the Bologna University Library Manuscript Collection as a separate series entitled "Fondo Marsili" [hereafter: BUB FM]. L. Frati, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Marsigli conservati nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Florence 1928). He preserved copies of his own manuscripts in bound volumes, along with documents and letters he received or collected during his lifetime.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Raimondo Montecuccoli, or the Bolognese Caprara family's sons.

<sup>10</sup> "From a very young age, I have enjoyed reading widely on the history of the Turks, in which this nation was always portrayed as invincible. Thus was my desire and will to get to know them born"; L. F. Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Impero Ottomano, incremento e decremento del medesimo* (The Hague and Amsterdam 1732), 3. For the Italian image of the Turks, cf. M. Soykut, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy: A History of the "Other" in Early Modern Europe, 1453–1683* (Berlin 2001).

tion of his time in Constantinople and Smyrna (now Izmir), and whom the young Italian count, out of sheer curiosity, questioned extensively about the Ottoman character. Then in Livorno he met the son of the then still living Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609–1680).<sup>11</sup>

At this time, he formed his first scientific and political contacts, primarily through his family connections. As his biographer, John Stoye, notes:

Significant events in his life, even at that time [his youthful years in Italy], seem to have been meetings and conversations with men of letters who were scientists and he was able to profit from one of the greatest civilising merits of seventeenth-century Italy [...] namely, the open character of intellectual society.<sup>12</sup>

In Rome he had connections to cardinals Flavio Chigi and de Luca and Queen Christina of Sweden, who lived there. He requested an audience with the newly-elected Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689), whom he met, with the help of senator Pietro Melara, in person for the first time around then.<sup>13</sup> The pope was heavily invested in, and credited with helping, the struggle of the Habsburgs against the Ottomans, both politically and financially, and Marsigli reported to him the intelligence he had acquired on his trip to the Ottoman Empire. Marsigli travelled to Vienna in 1682, most likely due to the pope's encouragement and even secret mandate to strengthen and aid the military party supporting the fight against the Ottomans.<sup>14</sup> In 1688 Emperor Leopold sent Marsigli to Rome because he urgently needed to convince Pope Innocent XI to continue disbursing church funds for the war against the Ottomans, in fact, if possible, to affect an increase.<sup>15</sup> Marsigli also had family connections in the Venetian Republic—

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<sup>11</sup> Gy. Herczeg, "L'autobiografia di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli e l'Ungheria," in *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo*, ed. by B. Köpeczi and P. Sárközy (Budapest 1982), 65–83, at 66.

<sup>12</sup> Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 8.

<sup>13</sup> "Nel '77 con licenza di mio padre mi resi a Roma [...] ebbi l'onore di baciare il piede della santità d'Innocenzo XI, condottovi dell'Ambasciador della mia patria, il senator Pietro Melara," Herczeg, "L'autobiografia," 4; M. G. Lippi, *Vita di Papa Innocenzo XI* (Rome 1889).

<sup>14</sup> For the Habsburg-friendly political line of the papal court, cf. G. Signorotto, "Lo Sqadron volante. I cardinali 'liberi' e la politica europea nella seconda metà del XVII secolo," in *La Corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento "teatro" della politica europea*, ed. by G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Rome 1998), 93–137.

<sup>15</sup> Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 54, 56, 66, 100. They reached an agreement, but at a price: promising a piece of the territories recaptured from the Ottomans to the pope's nephew, Livio Odescalchi. The transaction was arranged by Marsigli, who

which was a hub of legal and illegal intelligence<sup>16</sup>—and which, as we will see, he utilised in his direct contact with the Ottomans.

### *Vienna*

As is well known, during the reign of Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), Leopold and his cousin Louis XIV, the great European rivals of the age, competed against each other relentlessly.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the struggle of the Christian world against the ever-invading Ottomans continued. The successful conclusion of the war on two fronts, against both the French and the Ottomans, and the resulting consolidation of Danubian–Balkan lands recaptured from the Ottomans, turned the Habsburg Monarchy into a real powerhouse.<sup>18</sup> People of Italian descent occupied significant positions in contemporary Europe, particularly in the Habsburg Empire, thanks to their competence and openness, and since many of them did not find suitable positions at home. At the court of Leopold I, Italian was all but the official language, since so many of his advisors were Italian. Leopold not only spoke perfect Italian, but also repeatedly expressed his pleasure at having the opportunity use it, since it always reminded him that he was head of the (Holy) Roman Empire.<sup>19</sup> Thus many people of Italian descent lived at the emperor's court; priests, monks, people of the church, historians and musicians.<sup>20</sup> Italian military engineers had been arriving continuously since the sixteenth century for the modernisation of the Hungarian border fortress system, whilst both volunteers and imperial mercenaries,

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sent reports to Rome from Srem, which were received by the banker Odescalchi, alongside the title “Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.” Cf. *Manuscripti diversi toccanti la seconda spedizione a Roma e maneggio per D. Livio Odescalchi con scritture naturali e militari*, vol. 4 (BUB FM Ms. 54).

<sup>16</sup> P. Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia. Spionaggio e controspionaggio ai tempi della Serenissima* (Milan [1994] 2004).

<sup>17</sup> J. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge 2003); J. Béranger, “An Attempted Rapprochement between France and the Emperor,” in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. by R. Hatton (London 1976), 133–152; R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford 1979).

<sup>18</sup> J. Béranger, *Léopold I<sup>er</sup> (1640–1705), fondateur de la puissance austrichienne* (Paris 2004).

<sup>19</sup> U. de Bin, *Leopoldo I. Imperatore e la sua Corte nella letteratura italiana* (Trieste 1910).

<sup>20</sup> A. Wandruschka, *Österreich und Italien im XVIII-ten Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1963); J. M. Thiriet, “Les Italiens à Vienne sous le règne de Léopold I (1655–1705),” in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 39–44.

amongst them high-ranking officers, came to fight against the Ottomans.<sup>21</sup> By the second half of the seventeenth century, a military party, the so-called *Militärpartei*, consisting largely of military leaders of Italian descent, had formed at the Viennese court. Following the insights and political and military views of Raimondo Montecuccoli (Modena, 1609–Linz, 1680),<sup>22</sup> they supported Emperor Leopold I in his military campaign on two fronts, and in building absolutism and European competitiveness. Montecuccoli's ideas prevailed in Marsigli's system of thought, alongside those of the infamous Antonio Caraffa (Naples, 1646–Vienna, 1693), known for his cruelty against the Hungarians and the Transylvanians.<sup>23</sup> Marsigli was seen as the implementer of Caraffa's plans and ideas.<sup>24</sup>

Since the talent of many arrivals from Italy manifested itself in both military and individual-cultural spheres, they were often given special assignments or roles at the Viennese court. Amongst them was Count Marsigli, who arrived in Vienna on the eve of the Ottoman siege in 1682, presumably with some serious letters of recommendation, since Emperor Leopold I soon received him in person. Like many of his Italian compatriots, he began his service in the imperial army as a volunteer, where he progressed nicely through the ranks to general by 1699. He worked in Hungary right up until 1701, fighting the Ottomans and later taking part in peace talks with them, discussing the demarcation of the border between the two

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<sup>21</sup> It is worth mentioning Piccolomini and the Bolognese Caprara brothers, of whom the youngest, Aeneas (1631–1701), achieved many military successes on the battlefield in Hungary. F. Martelli, "Generali italiani a Vienna tra scienza nuova, empirismo e ideali assolutistici," in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 45–100.

<sup>22</sup> Montecuccoli was the author of numerous significant works on strategy and military science. For the most recent literature on him cf. *Raimondo Montecuccoli: teoria, pratica militare, politica e cultura nell'Europa del Seicento*, ed. by A. Pini, (Pavullo nel Frignano 2009); R. Gherardi and F. Martelli, *La pace degli eserciti e dell'economia: Montecuccoli e Marsili alla Corte di Vienna* (Bologna 2009); "Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609–1680): Lettere, arte militare e scienze agli albori dell'Europa moderna," *Annuario (Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, Istituto storico "Fraknoi")* (2007–2008, 2008–2009), ed. by É. Vigh, 411–457.

<sup>23</sup> P. Kónya, *Az eperjesi vértörvényszék, 1687* [The Prešov Blood Tribunal, 1687] (Eperjes and Budapest 1994).

<sup>24</sup> L. Nagy, "Rebellis barbárok és nagylelkű hősök. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili nézetei a Habsburg és az Oszmán Birodalomról" [Rebellious barbarians and generous heroes. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's views on the Habsburg and Ottoman empires], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 119, 2 (2006), 319; id., *Határok, vándorok, kémek. A magyarokról és a románokról alkotott kép Luigi Ferdinando Marsili írásaiban* [Borders, wanderers, spies. The image of Hungarians and Romanians in Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's writings] (Budapest 2011), 213.

empires. Marsigli's relationship to the Viennese court and the Ottoman war was fundamentally defined by his inner desire to fight the Ottomans, the ethos of the Italian community in Vienna and the pope's encouragement to free these Christian lands. Although, being an imperial soldier, he did not and could not belong to the official Habsburg information network,<sup>25</sup> the Viennese court was able to take full advantage of the count's lust for adventure, intermingled with his willingness to collect and disseminate information through both official and secret diplomatic missions assigned to him.

### *Relations with Constantinople and Ottoman Empire*

Marsigli, with the help of his above-mentioned Venetian contacts, first travelled to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1679–1680, which was itself a significant centre of information and intelligence,<sup>26</sup> mainly through the permanent embassies of the European courts. These embassies collected news from the Ottoman Empire and the Levant and forwarded it to the European courts, as well as being arrival points for the freshest news from the Christian centres, to facilitate the ambassadors' politicising at the Porte. The Ottomans' diplomatic and trade relations with European countries were mostly facilitated by European merchants and diplomats, thus the Ottoman government was forced to enlist the help of Christian merchants (e.g. Ragusans), renegades, immigrant Moriscos and Jews.<sup>27</sup>

Marsigli, as mentioned previously, arrived in Constantinople in 1679 in the company of the Venetian ambassador Pietro Civrani, in a non-official capacity, and since he was not a subject of Venice, he was much freer to

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<sup>25</sup> I. Hiller, "Titkos Levelezők Intézménye" [Institute of Secret Correspondents], in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója tinnepére*, ed. by P. Tusor et al. (Budapest 1998), 204–216; id., "A Habsburg informátorhálózat kiépítése és működése az Oszmán Birodalomban" [Construction and operation of a Habsburg information network in the Ottoman Empire], in *Információáramlás a magyar és török végvári rendszerben*, ed. by T. Petersák and M. Berecz (Eger 1999), 157–169; D. Kerekes, "Kémek Konstantinápolyban. A Habsburg információszerzés szervezete és működése a magyarországi visszafoglaló háborúk idején (1683–1699)" [Spies in Constantinople. The organisation and operation of the Habsburg acquisition of information at the time of the wars of reoccupation in Hungary, 1683–1699], *Századok* 141 (2007), 1217–1257.

<sup>26</sup> G. Ágoston, "Birodalom és információ: Konstantinápoly, mint a korájukori Európa információs központja" [Empire and information: Constantinople, the hub of information in the early modern period], in *Az értelem bátorsága. Tanulmányok Perjés Géza emlékére*, ed. by G. Hausner (Budapest 2005), 31–60.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 35–36.

move around during his 11-month stay there. Civrani openly encouraged and supported him (materially too) in his information gathering activities, until he had the opportunity to know the ambassadors of other European countries as well. Not long after his arrival, he got in touch with John Finch, English ambassador to Constantinople, who had previously lived in Italy for an extensive period. Finch helped Marsigli in his scientific, networking and intelligence activities and even provided him with some protection.<sup>28</sup> Besides Finch, Marsigli also nurtured relationships with the following ambassadors: the Frenchman Gabriel Joseph de Lavergne, the Austrian Johann Christoph von Kunitz and the Pole Samuel Proski. He became acquainted with the Orthodox patriarch Iakovos, as well as the Greek court interpreter Alexander Maurocordato,<sup>29</sup> with whom he would meet again several times during the Habsburg–Ottoman negotiations. Since Marsigli was still very young at this time, the Ottomans perhaps did not even suspect him, despite it being an open secret that the ambassadors brought spies into the empire with them. He himself wrote of his first trip to the Ottoman Empire:

Sparing neither effort nor expense, I have gathered intelligence that seemed essential to my cause. I did this despite being warned that I could be in danger, since the Turkish government does not look kindly on a Christian taking pains to get to know them, and above all their military situation. Nevertheless the Turks co-operated with me in both teaching me and giving me access to information.<sup>30</sup>

Civrani provided him with an Italian interpreter, but he later found himself a reliable interpreter, Abraham Gabai, a Jew, from whom he learned a little of the Ottoman-Turkish language<sup>31</sup> and with whom he kept in touch for twenty years.<sup>32</sup> Through his Jewish contacts he also managed to whee-

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<sup>28</sup> S. Magnani, "Il giovane Marsigli tra scienza e politica: le lettere inedite da Costantinopoli," in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 224–225.

<sup>29</sup> N. Camariano, *Alexandre Maurocordato, le Gran Dragoman. Son activité diplomatique 1673–1709* (Thessaloniki 1970); A. Sturdza, *L'Europe Orientale et le Role Historique des Maurocordato, 1660–1830* (Paris 1913).

<sup>30</sup> Marsigli, *Stato militare*, Prologo, I.

<sup>31</sup> He never mastered the language; he could not read Turkish and in all contact with them—with the exception of a few basic communicational situations—he always relied on an interpreter.

<sup>32</sup> "stipendiando al mio servizio un Ebreo di nome Abram Gabai che trovai di tutta fede, ed abilità per servirmi d'interprete"; L. F. Marsigli, "Lettera-prefazione al catalogo dei manoscritti oriental," in *Scritti inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli*



dle his way into Ottoman intellectual spheres that maintained relations both with those Ottomans who were close to the sultan and Westerners. In most cases Marsigli preferred to protect the identity of his sources, and no doubt he had every reason to do so, but in his autobiography he mentions by name Aga Hüseyin, a tax collector in the capital, as well as two courtiers. Of the latter, one was the Venetian renegade Abdullah, who was entrusted with cutting Sultan Mehmed IV's nails and guarding his turbans, and who took Marsigli into the sultan's palace and the seraglio, naturally with the exception of the harem. However, Marsigli did not only appear in the higher echelons, he made acquaintances and talked with representatives from all layers of society in the cosmopolitan city. He met Italian prisoners, talked with fishermen on the Bosphorus and Ottoman doctors, he obtained information from a boatman in the service of the sultan on the latest foreign policy of the Porte, from whom he learned that they were to head west. Marsigli duly informed the Habsburg ambassador, who ignored his information, upon which the young Italian count noted in disappointment and outrage that the monarch whose ambassadors are so unreliable is certainly an unfortunate one.<sup>33</sup> Of his scientist friends, he repeatedly mentioned the geographer Ebu Bekir,<sup>34</sup> as well as the old "Usseim Effendi," whose nickname he also revealed: "Millevirtü" (that is, polymath, *homo universalis*). Otherwise known as Hüseyin Hezarfen, he was a great help to Marsigli in publicising the latest political and military situation of the Ottoman Empire, as well as briefing Marsigli on cultural issues and discussing science and literature with him.<sup>35</sup> Hezarfen was amongst the first of the

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*raccolti e pubblicati nel II centenario della morte a cura del Comitato Marsiliano* (Bologna 1930), 176.

<sup>33</sup> Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 19–24 ("compatii la disgrazia del principe, di avere un ministro che riposava su principii e notizie così false").

<sup>34</sup> Ebu Bekir bin Behrám's most significant work (ed. by Dimaski) was the translation of Wilhelm and Joan Blaeu's (father and son) work entitled *Atlas Maior sive cosmographia Blaviana qua solum salum Coelum accuratissime describuntur*. The Dutch ambassador Justinus Colyer made a gift of this grandiose map-of-the-world series to Mehmed IV in 1668 during his sojourn in Edirne. The Ottoman geographer worked on the six-volume edition (also published as a nine-volume edition) for ten years. Finally, besides translating, he delivered it to the sultan himself with significant additions to the Islamic countries, primarily the areas occupied by the Ottomans, under the title *Nusretü'l-Islam ve's sürurü fi tahriri Atlas Mayor*. Marsigli was able to obtain this expensive map series during his second stint in Constantinople (in 1691) at a great price from a renegade of Livorno, Mustafa, who was head of the Imperial Mint.

<sup>35</sup> Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600–1678/79?). For more on his life, cf. H. H. Efendi, *Telhis ül-beyan fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman* [Summary of declarations in the

Ottoman intellectuals in the Ottoman capital to have a wide range of Western cultural contacts; for instance, he knew the famous French orientalist Antoine Galland, who stayed with the French ambassador in Constantinople between 1670 and 1675.<sup>36</sup>

During the 1683 siege of Vienna, then as an imperial soldier fighting against the Ottomans, Marsigli fell prisoner to the Tatars, of which he gave a detailed account of in his memoirs.<sup>37</sup> He presented himself as a Venetian merchant—this not being the first time he had been forced to take on a false identity—thus saving his life. He changed hands several times in the Ottoman camp, until finally, after the siege, they deported him to Bosnia. From there, through his Venetian contacts, and following payment of a ransom, he was freed after a relatively short time (nine months). This perilous experience left an indelible mark on him for the rest of his life: when he was in the Balkans he visited his former captors, and as soon as he had the chance, he helped free Christian prisoners from Ottoman captivity, even establishing a collection point for prisoners' ransoms in his hometown.

The war went on and the secret peace talks, which were entered into with the Ottoman representatives Zülfikar Effendi and Alexander Maurocordato in Vienna in 1689, ran aground.<sup>38</sup> However, in 1691, with English mediation, the possibility of reaching a Habsburg–Ottoman peace agreement arose once again. Marsigli was sent to Constantinople with the English ambassador Sir William Hussey as his secretary,<sup>39</sup> to carry out a

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laws of the House of Osman], ed. by Sevim Ilgürel (Ankara 1998), 4–8; H. Wurm, *Der Osmanische historiker Huseyn b. Cafer, genau Hezarfen, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg 1971); M. F. Molnár, “Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli on the condition of the Turkish army in the 17<sup>th</sup> century,” in *Orientalista Nap 2000*, ed. by Á. Birtalan and M. Yamaji (Budapest 2001), 27–35. Hezarfen Efendi's work, entitled *Telhis ül-beyan fî Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*—which Marsigli also used in his major written work on the Ottomans—is one of the most important Ottoman works on the organisational structure of the Empire.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople (1672–1673)*, vol. 2 (Paris 1881); B. Lewis, *I Musulmani alla scoperta dell'Europa* (Milano 1992), 159–160.

<sup>37</sup> L. F. Marsili, *Ragguaglio della schiavitù*, ed. by B. Basile (Rome 1996).

<sup>38</sup> *Zülfikâr Paşa'nın Viyana sefâreti ve esâreti (1099/1103–1688/1692). Ceride-i takrîrât-i Zülfikâr efendi der kal'a-i Beç* [The legation and captivity of Zülfikar Paşa in Vienna, 1688–1692. Memoirs of Zülfikar efendi in the fortress of Vienna], ed. by M. Güler (Istanbul 2008).

<sup>39</sup> “sotto il finto carattere di segretario del re d'Inghilterra appresso il di lui ambasciatore,” Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 131.

delicate and dangerous diplomatic mission, which is seldom researched and discussed to this day. His mission to Constantinople had a two-fold purpose: firstly to keep an eye on the English ambassador, since the Viennese court did not trust him; and secondly he had to try to gauge whether the Ottomans really wanted peace and submit an updated report on the situation in the Ottoman Empire. This report, addressed to the emperor, which Marsigli handed him in person, was ready by June–July 1691.<sup>40</sup> Besides this, Count Marsigli and his companion, Christoph Ignatius Quarient von Rall (the last imperial ambassador to Constantinople and Kunitz's nephew), probably had a mandate to watch their interpreters, Giorgio Cleronome and Janaki Porphyrita, very closely as well. The two interpreters were sent back to the Ottoman capital to provide continuous intelligence, since the last permanent ambassador to Constantinople had left in 1683, and with him all those important people who had played a significant role in imperial espionage.<sup>41</sup> Janaki, being unpaid, provided intelligence for the Porte and the French as well, thus the imperial envoys arriving in Constantinople reported him to be less than reliable, as well as greatly hindering the success of Marsigli's peace mission. Simultaneously, Janaki tried to besmirch Marsigli at the Viennese court, claiming that he was a renegade, even having been circumcised.<sup>42</sup> During this mission, interesting news was circulated about Marsigli. For instance, Thomas Coke<sup>43</sup> reported a piece of unsubstantiated gossip from Constantinople—"Upon the arrival of Mr Guariente, it became clear that the rumour claiming that he and Count Marsigli had been imprisoned in a dark tower, was untrue"—and could not cease to be amazed at how such rumours could spread, without the faintest relation to reality.<sup>44</sup> Of course, the rumours may have had some basis: we know, for instance, that the French ambas-

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<sup>40</sup> *Relazione del Marsigli a S. M. Cesarea dello stato della Corte Ottomana, della sua milizia, de' trattati fattisi sino a quel tempo intorno alla pace del 1691* (BUB FM Ms. 55, cc. 228–247). The fundamental data and conclusions of his later, major work on the Ottomans can be found here.

<sup>41</sup> Kerekes, "Kémek Konstantinápolyban," 1227–1228.

<sup>42</sup> L. Nagy, "La frontiera, il buon governo a l'armonia mondiale. L. F. Marsigli sulla frontiera della Transilvania," in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 189–190.

<sup>43</sup> Coke was the "chargé d'affaires" of the English Eastern Company. A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Abingdon [1935, 1964] 2013), 252.

<sup>44</sup> Coke from Constantinople, 7 June 1692. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv [hereafter: ÖStA HHStA] Staatenabteilungen Türkei I. Karton 163, Konv. 1, f. 76<sup>r</sup> ("sarà già chiarito coll'arrivo del sig.re Guariente della falsità di quel rumore che lui et conte Marsigli fossero incarcerarti in una torre profonda, mi maraviglio come si può inventare sia spaccate bugie, senza il minimo fondam[en]to").

sador to Constantinople, Châteauneuf, must have suspected Marsigli's true identity and spying activities, since he did everything he could to capture Marsigli and have him killed.<sup>45</sup> Marsigli spent the next few months commuting between Vienna, Adrianople and the Ottoman capital, later using the longer but safer Wallachian–Transylvanian route. He wrote reports, confidential records and letters to the Viennese court—besides the emperor, also addressing the Chairman of the Military Council, or Chancellor Ulrich Kinsky—in which he gave accounts of the situation in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, of the Transylvanian prince Emmerich Thököly and of the size and condition of the Ottoman army. Meanwhile, Hussey and the grand vizier died, along with Sultan Süleyman. Marsigli, however, stayed on and “stepped into the shoes of a former English ambassador's secretary.”<sup>46</sup> This was a dangerous game: Marsigli could not reveal his true role, and everyone at the Viennese court tried to keep it a secret since it could have been extremely embarrassing and cause numerous problems, not only for those associated with the emperor but for their allies as well.<sup>47</sup> Most of his letters were forwarded to Vienna via the English ambassador William Paget, the Dutch ambassador Conrad Heemskerck, or through Wallachia, sent to the camp of Imperial General Federico Veterani (1650–1695). Besides establishing relationships with the highest-ranking Ottoman officials and conducting negotiations with them—including the grand vizier—whether as part of his disguise, or out of a genuine interest, Marsigli continued his scientific work and observations in the Ottoman capital. One tangible result was that “Marsigli was duly elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 25 November 1691.”<sup>48</sup> He had to be very careful with both the Dutch and English ambassadors in order to continue receiving as much information as possible from them on the current state of affairs and the peace plans:

At every meeting with both the Dutch and the English, I was at great pains to show them every appropriate courtesy and conceal my hostility, for instance, when they refused to inform me of any letters being sent, whilst I

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<sup>45</sup> Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 161.

<sup>46</sup> Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 115.

<sup>47</sup> “Ho smenticato dir'ancora, doversi (96v) guardar' Marsigli a non apparir' alla Porte Ottomana in figura di cesareo ministro, perche quando ciò venisse scoperto da' Turchi, non solo essi triomfarebbero della sua qualificata presenza, il che si pretende di scanzar' in ogni modo dalla parte nostra, ma di più questo potrebbe recare a gli alleati nostri molti et inconvenienti sospetti.” (ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen Türkei I. Karton 161, Konv. 4). Thanks to Dóra Kerekes for the extract.

<sup>48</sup> Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe*, 111.

was obliged to report to them on everything that happened. My correspondents never came to me because, knowing who I was, they would have removed them.<sup>49</sup>

In April 1692, after roughly a 12-month stint, when he was no longer faring well with the French ambassador and the transmission of his letters,<sup>50</sup> and both the English and Dutch ambassadors<sup>51</sup> felt his presence to be a burden, he returned to Vienna.

The original aim of his major work on the Ottomans, *Stato militare dell'Impero Ottomano, incremento e decremento del medesimo* (The rise and fall of the military situation of the Ottoman Empire), was as a practical aid to Leopold I's battle against them. However, as it was published only two years after the author's death in 1732, but appeared in St Petersburg in 1737 in a Russian translation, it became an aid to the Russians in their fight against the Ottomans. The work, besides being a rich repository of information gathered on the Ottomans, provides the most detailed military description of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the seventeenth century, wherever possible taking examples from the war of reoccupation of Hungary. The book is a particularly valuable piece in its own genre due to

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<sup>49</sup> "In ogn'Incontro tanto con Olandesi, che Inghlesi ho cercato ogni contrassegno di vero rispetto verso loro evidente anche dirò al mio privato essere. Ho dissimulati tutti li torti mi facevano e massime nelli spedizioni delle lettere senza avisarmi, e proibire á me di mai farne senza loro saputa, e che obbedivo, perchè le cause urgenti al'servitio dell'Augustissimo Padrone mancavano. Li miei corrispondenti mai venivano nella mia casa, perche conosciutimi sarebbero stati levati." ÖStA HHStA Staatskanzlei Türkei, Karton 160, f. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Marsigli to the Emperor from Constantinople, 14 Apr. 1692: "il francese sempre con l'arco teso contro mi levatomi il comercio di lettere per opra dei stipendiati di Cesare, come sentirà dal Quarienti, da tanti sollicitata la mia partenza di qui per tante maniere si volse spaventarmi, perchè non ritornassi più qui, li Venetiani qui sono di me gelosi, Ragusa scala per le lettere del'Francese et Venetiani, Transylvani per chi vole et per me mai lettere, non posso permettere alli miei corrispondenti di mai venire in mia casa, perche subito sarebbero levati" (ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen Türkei I. Karton 163, Konv. 3, f. 36').

<sup>51</sup> For the operations of Dutch and English ambassadors in the East, cf. C. Heywood, "An Undiplomatic Anglo-Dutch Dispute at the Porte: The Quarrel at Edirne between Coenraad Van Heemskerck and Lord Paget (1693)," in *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. by A. Hamilton et al. (Leiden 2000), 59–94. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Habsburg and Dutch ambassadors were at a disadvantage compared with their Venetian, French and English counterparts, who had a lot of political experience, an extensive network of contacts and a well-functioning intelligence network. Cf. Kerekes, *Kémek Kontantinápolyban*.

the 48 illustrations, complete with annotations, two maps and numerous summaries and economic tables that can be found within it.<sup>52</sup>

### *Moldavia, Wallachia*

While commuting between Constantinople and Vienna, Marsigli travelled through Wallachia several times. The princely court in Bucharest, with its secretaries—a whole chain of which took part in the transmission of diplomatic correspondence—was also a hub of information exchange at the time, since letters reached Vienna more quickly and securely from here than via the Constantinople—Ragusa—Fiume—Venice route. Under Prince Constantin Brancoveanu (1688–1714), Constantin Cantacuzino, the exceptionally talented statesman and historian, ran the intelligence gathering, distributing and forwarding operation. Information and correspondence were disseminated not only to Vienna, but also to Constantinople, whilst maintaining good relations with Transylvania. The Greek Cantacuzino family in Constantinople had serious connections not only in the Mediterranean area but also in Transylvania. Furthermore, they were related to three of the most important interpreters and spies from Vienna in the Ottoman Empire, amongst them the leader of the entire Viennese spy ring, the previously-mentioned Marc’Antonio Mamucca della Torre.<sup>53</sup> Marsigli, as “secretary to the English ambassador,” and as an imperial officer, had a good relationship with Brancoveanu, the latter claiming that he would like to be a subject of the emperor.<sup>54</sup> Besides this, he gathered every possible piece of intelligence from the court of the Wallachian voivode and carried out the military engineering tasks entrusted to him.

### *Hungary, Transylvania*

Since the fighting continued following the liberation of Buda from the Ottomans in 1686,<sup>55</sup> the interests of the Habsburg Empire and Hungary com-

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<sup>52</sup> Following the 1737 Russian publication, a further three editions appeared: in Turkish (Ankara 1934), a facsimile edition with an introduction and an index (Graz 1972), as well as a Hungarian translation by the author, with her foreword, notes and index (Budapest 2007).

<sup>53</sup> Nagy, *Határok, vándorok, kémek*, 33–35.

<sup>54</sup> *Relazione a Sacra Maestà Cesarea di tutto il successo al Marsili nel primo viaggio che fece a Constantinopoli, per i negoziati della pace del 1691* (BUB FM Ms. 55, f. 139–146).

<sup>55</sup> For more on the battles following the Ottoman attack on Vienna (1683), cf. E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700*

pelled them to settle the administrative status of the liberated territories and build a hinterland economy that functioned appropriately for warfare as well as a strong border protection system. The men of Viennese government who directed the policies of the Habsburg Empire were convinced that the modernisation of the newly reoccupied central European region (the so-called *neoaquistica*) and its incorporation into the framework of the empire would only be possible based on the mechanical worldview of the age. In this light, elite members, active politicians, Austrians and Hungarians alike, armed with the works of Machiavelli, Grotius, Bodin, Pufendorf and the chamber works, set about organising, building and modernising Hungary. Fervent work began and the relevant imperial committees received about 50 different draft proposals.<sup>56</sup> The most frequently-mentioned and best-known three drafts were: (1) Leopold Kollonich's 500-page proposal entitled *Einrichtung des Königreichs Ungarn*,<sup>57</sup> prepared upon imperial command; (2) Palatine Pál Esterházy's proposal, submitted and modified several times, which, besides representing the principles of the absolutist state system, primarily promoted the interests of the Hungarian aristocracy;<sup>58</sup> and finally (3) the memoirs of the Nice-born Minorite Angelo Gabrielle de Stizza on the governance of Hungary,

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(Stuttgart 1988), chapter 11; F. Szakály, *Hungaria eliberata. Budavár visszavétele és Magyarország felszabadítása a török uralom alól. 1683–1718* [Hungaria eliberata. The recapture of the Buda castle and the liberation of Hungary from Turkish rule, 1683–1718] (Budapest 1986); I. Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade 1683–1739* (New York 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Á. R. Várkonyi, *Europica varietas—Hungarica varietas* (Budapest 1994), 193–194.

<sup>57</sup> The goal of the *Einrichtungswerk* was to centralise and catholicise Hungary; they recommended creating manufactories and introducing a new tax system. Cf. *Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Ungarn (1688–1890)*, ed. by J. Kalmár and J. J. Varga (Stuttgart 2010); J. J. Varga, “Berendezkedési tervek Magyarországon a török kiűzésének időszakában. Az Einrichtungswerk” [Installation plans in Hungary during the period of the expulsion of the Turks. The Einrichtungswerk], *Századok Füzetek* 1 (1993), 30–40.

<sup>58</sup> Besides the principles of the absolutist state structure, it is primarily the interests of the Hungarian aristocracy that are represented here. Much like the proposals of the Viennese committee, the Hungarians addressed economic issues in the greatest detail. Every committee was aware that continued fighting would only be sustainable with increased income to the empire. Thus the security and effectiveness of production had to be increased, which could only be achieved through firm, central decisions from administrative bodies that would then enforce them. E. Iványi, “Esterházy Pál nádor és a magyar rendek tervezete az ország új berendezkedésével kapcsolatban” [The proposal of Palatine Pál Esterházy and the Hungarian nobility for the new structure of the country], *Levéltári Közlemények* 42 (1971), 137–162.

in which the Italian fire master, who had helped out during the siege of Buda, recorded, under the title *Il governo dell'Ongaria. L'anno 1701*, how Hungary could be governed in accordance with Habsburg interests.<sup>59</sup> Another work of a different genre and nature can be classified alongside these ambitious proposals: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's reports to the emperor following the 1699 Karlowitz peace treaty,<sup>60</sup> that is, the reports of the supervisor of the demarcation of the border between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires.<sup>61</sup> In these reports the Italian imperial officer, besides describing practical implementations for the new frontier and negotiations with the Ottomans—based on tradition, but in the spirit of modernisation—makes several recommendations to the emperor regarding the arrangements of the recaptured territories.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Angelo Gabriele recommended the centralisation of the administration of the country: the creation of a Court Council and Hungarian Council, the restriction of the authority of the palatine, as well as political, economic and military reforms (frequently transferred commanders, removing the right to aristocratic insurrection) and the complete reorganisation of the judicial system. He wanted to create a powerful army, consisting of foreigners, to deal with uprisings. Cf. "Tüzes Gábor emlékirata Magyarország kormányzásáról" [The memoirs of Gábor Tüzes on the governance of Hungary], *Történelmi Tár*, ser. 2, 1 (1900), 219–263; A. Szántay, "Könyvtárosok és történétírók. Angelo Gabriele kormányzati tervezetétől II. József reformjaiig" [Librarians and historians. From Angelo Gabriele's draft proposal to Joseph II's reforms], *Történelmi Szemle* 38, 1 (1996), 45–61.

<sup>60</sup> It was signed by Emperor Leopold I, King of Hungary, and the Ottoman Sultan Mustafa II on 26 Jan. 1699, to last for the ensuing 25 years. See M. F. Molnár, "Der Friede von Karlowitz und das Osmanische Reich," in *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen. Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgmonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by A. Strohmeyer and N. Spannenberger (Stuttgart 2013), 197–220.

<sup>61</sup> *Relazioni dei confini della Croazia, e della Transilvania a Sua Maestà Cesarea (1699–1701)* (BUB FM Ms. 59–60). Published: L. F. Marsili, *Relazioni dei confini della Croazia e della Transilvania a sua Maestà Cesarea (1699–1701)*, vols. 1–2, ed. by R. Gherardi (Modena 1986); For responses to these from the emperor and the Hofkriegsrat in Vienna: *Plenipotenza ed istruzione Cesarea per la commissione dei confini con i rescritti pure Cesarei riportati nel stabilimento de' medesimi; Lettere del Consiglio di guerra ricevute nella divisione de' Confini della Schiavonia e Croazia* (BUB FM Ms. 62).

<sup>62</sup> M. F. Molnár, "Modernizációs tervek Magyarországon a XVII–XVIII. század fordulóján. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli gróf reformjavaslatai" [Modernisation proposals in Hungary at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Reform proposals of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli], in *Tradíció és modernizáció a XVIII–XX. században*, ed. by E. Bodnár and G. Demeter (Budapest 2008), 93–102.



Following Karlowitz, fundamental changes to the relationship between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires took place: the previously moving and uncertain borders were replaced by a permanent boundary between the two states.<sup>63</sup> At the instigation of the Bohemian Court Chancellor, Count Franz Ulrich Kinsky, who was one of the main directors of Viennese politics from 1695, Leopold I appointed Marsigli, “plenam [...] potestatem ac auctoritatem,” imperial envoy, despite attacks on him in the Viennese court. Marsigli was charged with demarcating the borderlines, which were only schematically defined in the treaty of Karlowitz.<sup>64</sup> The fact that he was selected was no coincidence, since the Italian count had carried out the military reinforcement of the border region in 1689–1690, as well as mapping the area (of which there are numerous reports and a proposal to resolve border disputes). Following this, in 1697 the elector of Saxony authorised him to assess the border regions, which he did with such a high level of technical knowledge and professional and military engineering expertise (building as well as demolishing bridges, developing new transportation routes, reinforcing castles, etc.), also carrying out geographical surveying and collection, that he became a real expert on border assessment. During the Karlowitz peace talks, he appeared as an advisor to the imperial committee (*consigliere assistente*), that is, as practically the only expert on the border region with local knowledge.<sup>65</sup> Having won the demarcation man-

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<sup>63</sup> For valuable literature on border demarcation, cf. R. Gherardi, “Scienza e governo della frontiera: il problema dei confini balcanici e danubiani nella pace di Carlowitz,” *Il pensiero politico* 32, 3 (1999), 323–351; M. F. Molnár, “Karlofça antlaşmasından sonra Osmanlı-Habsburg sınırı (1699–1701)” [Ottoman-Habsburg frontier after the treaty of Carlowitz], in *Osmanlı I. Siyaset*, ed. by G. Eren (Ankara 1999), 472–479; eadem, “Il Triplice Confine. Delimitazione del confine veneto-turco-asburgico dopo il trattato di Carlowitz (1699),” in *I Turchi, gli Asburgo e l’Adriatico*, ed. by G. Németh and A. Papo (Trieste 2007), 163–171; eadem, “L. F. Marsili e gli ottomani. La frontiera asburgico-ottomana dopo la pace di Carlowitz,” in *La politica, la scienza, le armi*, 147–172; S. Bene, “Questions of the New Balkan Settlement after 1699: L. F. Marsili and Local Traditions,” in *ibid.*, 199–216; Nagy, *La frontiera, il buon governo*, 173–198.

<sup>64</sup> For detailed descriptions of his difficulties at the peace conference and the Viennese court, cf. Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 199–208; and R. Gherardi, *Potere e costituzione a Vienna fra Sei e Settecento* (Bologna 1980), 49–57. For the Latin text of Marsigli’s appointment, cf. BUB FM Ms. 62.

<sup>65</sup> M. F. Molnár, “Tárgyalási technikák és hatalmi játszmák. A Habsburg és az Oszmán Birodalom közötti határ meghúzása a karlócai békét követően” [Negotiation techniques and power plays. Drawing a border between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires following the peace treaty of Karlowitz], *Századok* 140, 6 (2006), 1475–1502.

date, he made an accurate and detailed plan<sup>66</sup> of the route to be traversed in both the Southern Land (Hung. Délvidék) and in Transylvania, identifying the most important tasks to be carried out in each locality.

During the border inspection, Marsigli sent regular reports on the progress of the work and any problems that arose along the way or issues to be resolved. Besides these, he suggested draft measures to be taken for the strict military management of the newly reoccupied territories, the enforcement of state order (in his own words: “buon ordine”) and the protection of the recently defined border. He also outlined the possible economic and trade relations that could be entered into with the Ottomans. Marsigli attempted to reconcile the interests of two distinctly separate groups. The *Merkantilpartei* and the *Militärpartei*, taking into account both the economic and military-protective points of view. Besides the reports and the responses to them, the material available to us comprises a small archival fond<sup>67</sup> consisting of correspondence with the Ottomans,<sup>68</sup> historical and geographical data collected locally, as well as a vast number of maps and drawings of the entire border region and the castles to be destroyed.<sup>69</sup> Marsigli kept in touch with the leading politicians in Vienna, the local imperial military commander and the Ottoman magistrates (including the pashas of Bosnia and Temesvár/Timișoara) throughout. Since according to the peace agreement the old pre-war borders had to be maintained, Marsigli tried to track down the sources and people who could help him in this. For instance, at the Croatian border, Pavao Ritter Vitezović aided him.<sup>70</sup> Uncertainty was particularly great at the Transylvanian border region with regard to the previous and current borders of Moldavia, Wallachia and the

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<sup>66</sup> *Progetto per l'esecuzione de'Confini accordati fra ambi gl'Imperi Cesareo ed Ottomano ne'Trattati di Pace Carloviz Dato li 29. novembre 1699* (BUB FM Ms. 58).

<sup>67</sup> Marsigli prepared a summary volume of the whole thing: *Acta executionis pacis* (BUB FM Ms. 16), his aim in publishing it being to preserve the memory of this “glorious” period for posterity. Cf. S. Bene, “Acta Pacis.”

<sup>68</sup> *Lettere Turche, con la traduzione, in Commissione de'Confini*, vol. 15 (BUB FM Ms. 65).

<sup>69</sup> D. A. András, *Térképek a félhold árnyékából* [Maps from the shadow of the Crescent] (DVD, Budapest 2005).

<sup>70</sup> “an intellectual of encyclopaedic education and knowledge, a poet, scholar, printer, historian, the unifier of the Croatian literary language,” Bene, “Questions of the New Balcan Settlement,” 199; cf. id., “Illyria or What You Will: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and Pavao Ritter Vitezović’s ‘Mapping’ of the Borderlands Recaptured from the Ottomans,” in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden 2010), 351–403.

Ottoman Empire (in the territory of the Banat of Temesvár). The Transylvanian delegation, sent in to help, had no written documents whatsoever on the previous borders.<sup>71</sup> Later, in order to clarify the situation, Marsigli made a map, on which he attempted to indicate the changing borders of the principality over time.<sup>72</sup> He called upon another imperial military engineer and mapmaker, also experienced in Transylvanian geopolitical issues, Visconti Morandi, with whom he had worked previously. He also used several interpreters, themselves conducting negotiations with the Ottomans as commissioners of the border demarcation delegation, who played a part in translating letters from the Ottoman side and in transacting personal meetings between the two parties.<sup>73</sup>

Marsigli collected several volumes of material on Hungary and the whole Carpathian Basin, partly recording his own experiences, partly drawing on local sources.<sup>74</sup> In fact, he had the opportunity to publish his

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<sup>71</sup> Finally, he managed to procure a report from István Naláczy, who was a member of the Transylvanian delegation sent out to help demarcate the border, which discussed the governance of Transylvania, its borders and the habits of its residents: “tanto sul governo e i confini, quanto su l’uso e costume degli abitanti” (Marsili, *Relazioni dei confini*, 400).

<sup>72</sup> *Mappa Geographica, limites, Transilvaniam inter et Banatus Temesvariensem, qui, juxta Pacis Tabulas, priores antiqui esse debent, patuendas ostendens* (BUB FM Ms. 49, f. 34<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>73</sup> Since Marsigli was never entirely satisfied with the young Luca[s Franz] Jagelsky’s work, his later letters were all translated by another interpreter, Alvise Wolde. Jagelsky learned the Eastern languages in the Viennese school of Johann Baptist Podestà, formerly an interpreter in Constantinople, and he had belonged to a group of trainee interpreters to the War Council since 1693. Due to Wolde’s exceptional linguistic skills and his famous relative Marc’Antonio Mamucca della Torre, he joined the official service of the War Council and the emperor at the same time as Michele Tallman.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. E. Veress, *A bolognai Marsigli iratok magyar vonatkozásai* [Implications of Marsigli’s Bolognaise papers for Hungary] (Budapest 1906); but to name a few examples: *Notitie geografiche e genealogiche dell’Ungheria raccolte dal Generale Co. Marsili* (BUB FM Ms. 28); *Descrittione naturale, civile e militare delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico libri quattordici* (BUB FM Ms. 108); *Epitome della ribellione dell’Ungheria con annesso il Prodromo del Protocollo de’ moderni confini Cesarei Ottomanici* (BUB FM Ms. 70, fasc.10); *Primo Abozzo del compendio storico dell’Ungheria per servire d’introduzione al trattato: Acta Executionis Pacis fatto dal generale co(lonello) Marsili* (BUB FM Ms. 117; published: L. F. Marsili, *A Magyar Királyság történetének kivonata* [An extract of the history of the Kingdom of Hungary], trans. by L. Nagy (Máriabesnyő and Gödöllő 2009); *La popolazione di Transilvania composta di varie nationi, di diverse lingue, religioni, usi e vestiti*

scientific observations during his lifetime.<sup>75</sup> His image of the Hungarians was greatly determined by the mood of political circles in Vienna, following which, Marsigli also claimed that the Hungarians inherited their pride, restlessness and their inclination for disgruntlement from the Scythians and the Tatars. Accordingly, the main aim was to integrate Hungary into the Habsburg Monarchy, which meant pledging themselves to Leopold's authority and increased power.<sup>76</sup>

### *Summary*

Marsigli, as we have seen, had an extensive network of contacts, and he used this personal network to gather and forward intelligence primarily on the Ottomans, but also the entire Balkan region and Hungary. He was different from his Italian contemporaries, who were Habsburg mercenaries, in that he always had the interests of Vienna in mind, though this only appears indirectly in his own memoirs, since his most important works in this respect appeared after his ignominious departure from the Habsburg army. From this perspective, naturally the Ottoman Empire is the enemy of Christianity and the representative of diversity to him. Despite the fact that he was deeply preoccupied with the possibility of the integration of the virtually clichéd “rebellious Hungarians” into the empire, Hungary as a factor did not play an independent role in his thinking. This principle was somewhat altered by his personal ties, especially the fact that he had much more subtle cultural knowledge and a more multilateral information network than his contemporaries, since he had wide-ranging experience of the Ottomans and the entire Carpathian Basin. Though he did not belong to the paid spy network of the Habsburgs operating within the Ottoman Empire, as a professional soldier in the Habsburg army, and a secret, or official, diplomat, he was able to address his letters, reports, notes and recommendations directly to the narrow circle of policy makers. His data was collected with scholarly erudition and served the military and geopolitical interests of the Habsburg Empire and the expansion efforts of the Viennese court.

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(BUB FM Ms. 15); *Discorso intorno alla libreria famosa di Buda* (BUB FM Ms. 85, fasc. F).

<sup>75</sup> *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus, observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis perlustratus*, vols. 1–6 (The Hague and Amsterdam 1726). For the facsimile publication and translation of the first volume of the work known as *Duna-monográfia* [Danube monograph], cf. A. A. Deák, *A Duna fölfedezése* [The discovery of the Danube] (Budapest 2004).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Nagy, *Határok, vándorok, kémek*.

In Marsigli's case it is clear that, beyond the rhetoric and imperial propaganda, the policies of the Papal State, the Venetian Republic and the Habsburg Empire were driven by a strong pragmatism. If we consider the cultural aspects of his diplomatic activities, Marsigli was not unsuccessful in his highly problematic relationship with the Ottomans: his intelligence gathering trips were a success, even if his diplomatic missions were not always so, due to the given political situation. His most important and most difficult mandate was the demarcation of the border, and this was the height of Count Marsigli's career and service to the Habsburgs. The Italian expert enjoyed full imperial confidence and through this commission was able to combine all his previous activities: gathering intelligence, diplomatic and political work and scientific data collection.

